

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## Bombing Ruins Peace

— not only the enemy's present peace, but future world peace, the hope of peace in our children's time, says —

**HUMPHREY S. MOORE**

**D**ON'T be weak—don't get sentimental," people say when one expresses horror at the suffering inflicted on hundreds of thousands of one's fellow human beings by such acts of war as the bursting of the Ruhr dams. Yet no-one would have called weak or sentimental the very same kind of horror that would certainly have been expressed, but for the stealing of the headlines by the war, over the sufferings of a hundred thousand Americans when the Mississippi flooded them out—which happened almost at the same moment.

I do not want here, however, only to defend "sentimentalism," though I do defend it (under its proper name of Humanity, or Sensitiveness) as something no human being has any business to be ashamed of.

What is more serious than the physical suffering and damage inflicted on a few hundred thousands of one's fellow human beings in Germany or Italy is the damage done to the humanity of millions of people wherever a deed that causes such suffering is regarded with satisfaction as a "particularly fine achievement" (to quote a Church paper on the dams).

### Exultation?

Some people are more pleased than others over such deeds. When Mr. A. R. Bussey, Assistant Commissioner for War Savings for South Wales, told an Aberdare audience that "The RAF is speaking the only language the Huns understand: it is strong language; and now they have added to their blasts a couple of dams" the point "got home and won a burst of applause" (according to the report in the Aberdare Leader, May 29). And News Review (May 27) even declared that

"Exultant Britons, eagerly, without compassion, and with no thought in their minds of a Lord Mayor's Relief Fund, read last week of havoc, death, and devastation in the flooded Ruhr Valley."

On the other hand, there is a good deal of evidence that newspapers that gave that impression of the public's feelings were even farther from the truth than usual.

But the less pleased people are over the sufferings of the enemy peoples (short of being so really pitying that they refuse to help to cause the suffering), the more they justify the policy that makes such suffering inevitable. The war is "unfortunately necessary," they say, in order to safeguard us against future aggression.

### Ruining Peace Hopes

But I am not only concerned with the damage people do to their own humanity by using "force in its most intense and violent forms," as the Prime Minister described it the other day. Perhaps more terrible is the very real damage they do to the chances of future peace, and therefore not only to themselves but to mankind in general and their own children in particular.

The Listener (which comes as near as any paper I have seen to revealing an uneasy conscience about the whole business) said in its leader of May 27: "From the very spectacular nature of this operation, involving as it has the flooding of vast areas, there must emerge some speculation in the minds both of those who suffered (and survived) the disaster, and of the rest of us, as to future possibilities. Is there, can there or should there be, in the moral sense, any limit to the damage that belligerents in a modern war may inflict on one another?"

Each of us will have his own answer to that question; but a good working test, we suggest, is the probability or otherwise of such damage as we may inflict on our enemies bringing the war to a speedy conclusion in our favour."

A good theoretical test—possibly. A good working test—no.

For the plain fact is that the use of the bombing aeroplane in particular (but also of the blockade and—to a less extent as the range of devastation and suffering they inflict is more limited—all the other instruments of war) leaves behind it such a trail of ruin—ruined lives, ruined hopes, ruined faith in man and God, as well as ruined works of man—as will ruin also the sincerest efforts at peace making after such a process. What would be the good in that situation of "a speedy conclusion in our favour"?

Any peace effort now would be difficult enough in all conscience. Faith

Here are two letters—not written to Peace News, but sent on to us—which show in sharp contrast, on the one hand, the bestiality to which war reduces decent men (even "fighters for freedom"), and, on the other hand, the essential decency in all men (even "enemies of freedom") which longs for free expression.

Together they put in a nutshell the choice before men and women everywhere—a choice they, you, we must make quickly, before the disease of war brings further ruin on us all—

## "Contagious Savagery"

OR

## Infectious Humanity?

The following, signed T. T. Brumbaugh, of Highland Park, Michigan, is from the March 31 issue of the Christian Century, Chicago, which published it as a letter to the Editor under the above title.

"ENCLOSED please find two news clippings, one an Associated Press story under date of Mar. 6 from Allied headquarters in Australia telling how 'the Allied attack on the (Japanese) convoy steaming from New Britain toward New Guinea ... ended Friday when an Allied airman dropped his bombs on three lifeboats containing 200 Japanese, and messaged his base: "No survivors."'

The other is a confirming item by the United Press in Washington, dated Mar. 17, in which War Information Director Elmer Davis is cited as having 'told a press conference that latest reports indicated about 100 Japanese soldiers got ashore in landing barges and small boats, but that all but five subsequently were rounded up and disposed of.' Lowell Thomas this evening on the air gave the same information but used the words 'accounted for.'

"I had hoped that I read wrongly some months ago the young officer's diary from the South Seas in which he reported '400 of enemy taken—eight saved for purposes of intelligence.' But evidently my worst surmises were correct, for now we get another story of the same sort confirmed by the OWI.

"Mr. Thomas also told us this evening he had just met a great submarine captain named 'Bull' Wright, of whom we should all be proud. Captain Wright had just told Mr. Thomas how great a joy it was to see an enemy ship blown up at sea. Shades of Mussolini's son waxing poetic over bombs dropped on defenceless Ethiopians!

"Let's stop talking about the atrocities of others and call war what it is, unmitigated and contagious savagery. We too have contracted the disease!"

in man and God has so far gone already that even an offer to try to bring the peoples together to begin to consider "seeking a just and fraternal peace, not on a basis of aggrandisement," is abruptly dismissed by this country on the ground that it happens to come from a neutral country (Spain) which we cannot trust to be really neutral.

What solid possibility is there of making real peace when faith in man and God is still further destroyed? You cannot expect this vast flood of ruin (which, remember, is increasing all the time) to leave behind a physical state or a state of mind in which either victor or vanquished can build a society which will never again know war.

Any attempt to prevent war by sheer main force would be unendurable and no real peace. Repair of the ruin would inevitably be neglected. The all-powerful victor would be in a high state of constant war-preparedness with all the restrictions which total war production has brought us, but without even the compensation of glorious endeavour or successful

defeating of a foe which a shooting war provides. And all the time the vanquished would be in a constant state of sullen resentment, watching for the slightest opportunity to rise again to some position of self-respect.

"Seeking a just and fraternal peace, not on a basis of aggrandisement" offers a pathetically faint hope now. But it cannot offer more hope "when this struggle is over" (as The Listener still more pathetically hopes) if it is brought to an end by yet greater ruin of everything but hate, rather than by a willingness to try to build on what faith and good intention remains before it is too late.

PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## War For-What?

NOT much good is going to come out of this war. We are all agreed on this. Some say no good at all, because it is war. The truth of that seems to depend on the terms of comparison. If we are comparing the world that will be the outcome of the war with the world that might have been if nations had achieved the moral stature to keep the peace, then the war and all its works will appear irremediably evil. But the war came because the nations were morally incapable of keeping the peace, that is, of making the necessary sacrifices, internationally and domestically, which were necessary if a higher level of human relations was to be achieved. Without that higher level of human relations peace was impossible.

The question we have to decide, if we want to think clearly about the consequences of the war, is in what series of events we shall place it: the series of actual events, or an ideal series. For example, most pacifists today hold that, men and nations being what they are, the war was inevitable. If they also held that the consequences of war are wholly evil, as many are inclined to do, it follows that men and nations are involved in a process of interminable and hopeless deterioration. How many pacifists really believe that?

### Soul of Goodness

I DO not believe it. As against those who hold that this war is totally and irremediably evil, I would set the wisdom of Shakespeare.

There is some soul of goodness in things evil

Could men observingly distil it out. Not that I would undertake to distil it out, unless to observe that, while men or nations are what they are, war is the only practical instrument of

(Continued on page 2)

## DEBT OF HONOUR

MAY I explain the position of peace News with regard to the Headquarters Fund? I undertook, on their behalf, that our readers would raise a special fund of £1,000 to ease the cash position at Headquarters. It was perhaps rash of me; but I have learned that our readers never fail to respond.

Of this amount £600 had been raised when the decision was taken to clear the debt off Dick Sheppard House. The £400 remains as a moral obligation of PN towards Headquarters, which has been encouraged to count upon it. So please let us clear off this debt of honour quickly. Contributions since Jun. 4: £15 0s. 6d. Total to date: £31 5s. 6d.

### THE EDITOR

Please send contributions, plainly marked "HEADQUARTERS FUND" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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## Self - Interest

THE fiercer the war grows, the more lofty become the ideal aspirations of the participants. The more hellish the reality, the more heavenly the dream. The plans for the post war millennium pile higher and higher. The committees and commissions multiply. The abstractions grow more abstract. And nothing whatever is done.

Is it all escapism—a compensation in the sphere of fancy, for a fact too hideous to be faced? Not altogether. Unfortunately, total war does bring millions of people a good deal nearer to what they regard as the millennium. A negro soldier came into our country bank the other day wanting to open an account. The manager demurred on the ground that he would soon be sent away. The negro pulled a wad of notes from his pocket—at least £100—and said, very reasonably: "I can't go on carrying these around, like this."

That negro had never had £100 before in his life. He had achieved the Polly-wolly-doodle dream of "a pocket full of tin." Millions of men and women are in the same condition today. True, there is not much to spend it on. But it is as good money as anybody else's. And the millions of poor people to whom that has happened have come by so much nearer to actual experience of the millennium than they ever hoped to do. The war has done that for them. Nor is life, in general, perceptibly harder for them than it was before. They are ordered about. They always were ordered about. They are secure. They never were secure.

The mass-benefits of total war in an advanced industrial economy are enormous. The masses become more prosperous than ever before. Not many of them ask themselves: If this is possible in war, why not in peace? Nor are they to be blamed for not asking the question. The pundits themselves cannot answer it. Sir William Beveridge himself has to confess that he doesn't know how to maintain full employment in peacetime. He is going—or has already gone—into a one-man huddle over it that may last for years.

So the mass-man is not to be blamed for thinking more simply that Peace means Poverty and War means Plenty. That is what they have meant in his experience. And experience is a cogent school.

But Peace and Plenty is the offer now. The mass-man doesn't believe in it. Do the high-ups believe it themselves? Listen to President Roosevelt addressing the Food Conference on the conclusion of its preliminary labours.

"Increased food production must be accompanied by increased industrial production and by increased purchasing power. There must be measures for dealing with trade barriers, international exchange stability, and international investment. Many of these questions lie outside the scope of the work you have undertaken, but their solution is none the less essential to its success. They require, and shall receive, our united attention."

Words, words, words. Bring any of those abstractions down to earth, try to solve any one of these questions, and you are straightway shipwrecked on the rock of national self-interest. And this war is not diminishing the force of nationalism, but intensifying it.

As with self-interest between the nations, so with self-interest of the classes in the nations. As nothing is done in the international sphere, except to confer in abstract terms that no-one dares to bring down to earth, so in the domestic sphere. Nothing is done to implement the Scott or the Uthwatt reports: it would imperil the unity of the nation. The nation can unite for destruction not for construction: so can the nations. But they cannot pass beyond.

## Crucified Humanity

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

achieving major political change. The century of ruthless civil wars that preceded the establishment of the Roman Empire and the Roman peace is the example that always recurs to my mind. The man of imagination, Virgil, thought that the price paid for peace was inhuman and terrible, but he also thought, and the mind of the world has endorsed him, that through this terrible ordeal, humanity and civilization had reached a higher level. He could not be jubilant about it. And I suppose his real feeling towards it all was expressed in his unforgettable, untranslatable phrase, *Sunt lacrimae rerum*. No one knows quite what it means, because it means many things at once; but part of its meaning can be rendered "There are tears at the heart of things."

### Struggle for Happiness

WHY is humanity thus crucified? Why does humanity crucify itself over and over again in its struggle after—after what? Simple happiness, I suppose. And it cannot believe that there is no abiding happiness save love.

"Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be 'tongues' they shall cease; whether there be knowledge it shall vanish away."

Humanity cannot believe that. Is it any nearer to believing it today than it was when the Roman peace was established and Jesus born? It is not easy to believe that it may be. And yet—it may be. What is certain to me is that humanity will go on being crucified, crucifying itself, until it does believe that there is no abiding happiness save in Love.

But what a world of dream is in this use, natural and simple though it is, of the word "humanity!" Mankind as one. It is itself the dream. What is the reality? Millions upon

millions of individual humans struggling blindly, each one, after "my happiness."

### What Can Come of it?

I APOLOGIZE for these reflections: above all since I have not answered the question: Can any good come out of this war? Yet perhaps, by implication, I have suggested that the question frames itself in two orders. In the first, the question is: "Can any increase of love come out of this war?" I do not know. A vast organized attempt is being made to increase hatred. Yet it is possible that the attempt will fail utterly: and that there is a pent-up flood of suppressed human charity ready to pour in countless streams of beneficence over a devastated Europe. It is equally possible that an unprecedented fury of revenge may be unleashed. In the second order, the question frames itself "Can any increase of order come out of this war?" Order without love can be a terrible thing. Nazism itself, I suppose, is ultimately that. But order tempered by love is perhaps the best that humans in the mass can achieve. Is any increase of that possible? And I think my answer is: "Yes, it is possible: just possible."

### Honest Realist

DEBUNKING gives me no pleasure at all, except when I apply it to myself. But it has to be done, nevertheless: and since there appears to be no one else to do it, I have stepped into the breach.

But I am always glad to see somebody else taking on the job. I don't mind very much on what level people do their thinking, provided that, on that level, it is honest. I can make friends with an honest realist. Such Mr. Walter Lippmann, the famous American editor appears to me to be. He has written a book on "United States Foreign Policy," which is prominently reviewed in the Telegraph (June 10). In it he pleads for a new realism in American foreign policy, instead of idealistic self-deception.

"In the fateful period from 1898 to 1941, the United States engaged in three wars but never succeeded in forming a foreign policy. . . . In Taft and Wilson the idealism which prompts

Americans to make large and resounding commitments was combined with a pacifism which causes Americans to shrink from measures of force that are needed to support the commitments. Both abhorred, as inherently vicious and unnecessary and as contrary to American principles, the formation of alliances."

Of course, British foreign policy comes under the same condemnation. American reluctance to enter into open alliance with Britain was paralleled by British reluctance to enter open alliance with France. It is curious that these two analogous reluctances did not form the basis of an Anglo-American defensive alliance.

### Anglo - Saxons and Russia

FOR this Lippmann now pleads. This, in his view, is the prime necessity. He wants indeed a fourfold alliance: U.S.A., Britain, Russia and China, on the ground that "if they fail to do so, one or more of them will sooner or later join forces with the defeated Axis powers." But the British-American alliance comes first. After that, the crucial question is the relation between Russia and the Atlantic community, in which Britain and U.S.A. are the leading military powers.

"A settlement which was such that it could be maintained only by aligning American and therefore British military power against Russia in Europe would set the stage inexorably for a third world-war in Europe, and Asia as well. Russia and the Atlantic community have therefore a profound common interest in a European settlement which will maintain itself without bringing them into conflict."

He believes that this can only be achieved if Russia's western neighbours "will change their basic political assumptions, retire from power politics, and seek a neutralized role like that of the Scandinavians and the Swiss." It may be clear in the book, but it is not clear in the review, whether Germany is included in these western neighbours of Russia who are invited to retire from power-politics.

### A Better Order?

THE eventuality which Lippmann contemplates if the American-British alliance is not achieved, is a deepening estrangement between them.

Finally, he insists that such an understanding as he desires between great powers can be perpetuated only if they act so as to gain and hold the goodwill of other peoples.

Pacifists should ask themselves whether, in the realities of world-politics, Lippmann's world, which is, so far as the British-American alliance goes, a practical possibility, would be better ordered than the pre-war world. I should say it would be.

## "History Repeats Itself"

BY

JOHN SCANLON

IF we accept the late Professor Fisher as a recorder of history, there are apparently certain guides to follow in our search for truth.

One rule, according to Professor Fisher, is that "History is a continuous process."

My own view is that History is the trade name for the sins of the fathers.

All three rules perhaps hang together.

Professor Fisher's first dictum that refugees are bad counsellors was vividly called to mind when our best-selling newspapers informed us that the great work of bursting some dams in Germany was largely due to wise counsels given to our Air Ministry by a Jewish refugee from Germany. That piece of information must have repeated itself too extensively, because within 24 hours we were being assured by Lord Winter that it was not wise counsel to attribute this epic to a refugee.

And there was something in that. In parts of the world where scepticism has been kept at a safe distance the Jew of 1943 is still held responsible for the crucifixion of Christ 2,000 years ago. It is quite forgotten that the common people among the Jews heard Christ's message gladly—that the scribes and pharisees did not begin to feel really patriotic until Christ began to interfere with the iron laws of supply and demand and a currency based on Caesar's photograph.

On the whole it seemed a mistake, with all these illusions about the Jews still finding acceptance among the more devout Christians, to attribute one specially destructive act to the Jew. Fortunately, by the end of 48 hours, the nation was able to take all the credit to itself. We alone had done it. The proof was that in those strenuous years of working for peace we had also been devoting strenuous years to finding out all the best bombing targets in Germany.

### CONTINUOUS PROCESS

Now why were we doing that? The answer is that history was repeating itself, and also that history is a continuous process.

Sir Archibald Sinclair explained

Fisher, is to recognize "that refugees are bad counsellors."

the latter in a speech at Edinburgh. It now transpires that some unseen Power had preserved Britain for some specially selected civilizing mission.

This had been hinted at by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the miners' delegate conference, and it was good now to have it confirmed by the Minister for Air. It came at an apt moment, for the theme of the speech was "the epic feat of arms" in flooding two areas of Germany.

It is a great comfort to know that we are specially chosen, because, hitherto, Hitler has claimed that he was specially chosen to harry and drown. But it not only brings comfort to us as a nation that we have been specially preserved to continue civilizing where Beethoven and Goethe failed. It is a comfort to every one of us who have been preserved.

The butler who was depressed at seeing so many well-to-do families leave London at the threat of bombing will know by now that they are being preserved by an unseen power so that they can return in good time to spread loans and civilization over a devastated Europe. There were many, of course, who were not preserved, but we can take it that the unseen power had seen very little use in preserving them. For if it was only nations fit to keep history going which were preserved, that surely applied also to individuals.

So, no matter who originally thought of bursting the dams in Germany, it is not so important as we thought. Bursting the dams is merely a way of preserving ourselves, and the guidance really comes from an unseen power.

### THAT UNSEEN POWER

There is no doubt whatever that history is a continuous process. Take the case of the troubles in 1800. At that time an unseen power was preserving us from the French, whose people were not too bad, but their

rules admittedly were the most fiendish tyrants yet invented by an unseen power.

The war had come to a deadlock. Napoleon was powerful on land. Nelson was all powerful on the sea. Mr. Fox thought it would be a good time to talk peace. Mr. Pitt thought otherwise. He could not treat with Napoleon, a very low man at the time, but since a hero.

Mr. Fox made quite a speech on that occasion. He quoted Mr. Pitt: "We must keep Bonaparte for some time longer at war as a state of probation," and continued:

"Gracious God, sir, is war a state of probation? Is peace a rash system? Is it dangerous for nations to live in amity with each other? Is your vigilance, your policy, your common powers of observation, to be extinguished by putting an end to the horrors of war? Cannot this state of probation be as well undergone without adding to the catalogue of human sufferings?"

"But we must pause! What! Must the bowels of Great Britain be torn out, her best blood spilt, her treasure wasted, that you may make an experiment?"

Mr. Fox then said a foolish thing. He asked the Cabinet to put themselves in the place of the men whose blood was being spilt. For surely he should have known that Cabinets are always preserved by an unseen power to spread civilization.

The war continued against the ruthless tyrants. We beat them. Within a few years Marshall Soult, one of the vile tyrants, was being cheered as he drove through London with the Duke of Wellington. Still, we won the war, and kept the peace until it was time to destroy the next strongest Power in Europe, which happened to be Russia. For history is a continuous process.

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## WORDS OF PEACE—25

## Discoveries

**A**ND then came the war, and the many unpleasant discoveries that always come with a war, the most unpleasant of all being the discovery of the strength of the enemy.

The usual recognitions of the obvious, too late; and the usual denunciations of everybody else for not having foreseen it all the time. The usual rush to the money-chest of unexhausted Credit, to make good with pounds deficiencies shillings spent in time would have supplied; the usual storms of indignation against the incompetence in high places that never spent in time the shillings we refused to provide. The usual war-whoops from sheltered corners safe out of gunshot; and the usual deaths by scores of men on both sides who have never felt a pang of ill-feeling to each other, or knew the cause of the quarrel—yes, and many of whom, had they known a quarrel was pending, would have given their lives to avert it!

The usual bearing, on both sides, of the brunt of the whirlwind by those who never sowed a wind-seed, and the usual reaping of a golden harvest by the Judicious Investor, he who buys and sells, but makes or meddles not with what he sells or buys, measuring its value alone by what he can get and must give for it. And a very respectable person he is too.

William de Morgan.

"A Likely Story," pp. 104-5.

## Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Positive Pacifism

PAGES 3 and 4 of Peace News, May 28, have a very positive appeal:

1. Frank Dawtry. "So let our pacifism be a positive process. Programmes for the pacifist new order may be drawn up... but all will fail if the pacifists themselves are not responsible beings... Integrity, that is the test."

2. Donald Port. "Pacifists will not, it is true, be satisfied with an international law based on the ultimate sanction of force; but that will, at least, represent as great a step forward from the present international anarchy as was achieved in domestic politics by the changeover... to the proper working of a national police force."

3. J. D. A. Boyd. "Firstly, I see no inherent evil in mechanical principles or in their use... where such usage is moral in trend... It would seem to me that a conveyor-belt can be used to lighten the burden of labour on human backs; it is no argument against it to point out that it can be and has been used to drive men beyond their normal capacity; that is what I mean by the moral use of machines."

The underlying attitudes of mind in what each of these men wrote were positive and creative: each of them sees a line of human activity which can add something to the sum of human happiness. This is the sort of pacifism which can call forth a healthy reaction from the normal human individual because each writer is clearly trying to add or multiply rather than to subtract or divide. Each analyses his problem and tries to see what is to be done with things as they are in order to lead towards things as they ought to be. None of them seeks the mental comfort of insisting upon the absolutist 100 per cent. in a world which never permits the 100 per cent. to exist: each recognizes the inevitability of the continuous struggle and search for the maximum percentage which is in fact obtainable.

It does appear that the problem can be analysed usefully to split into three aspects—

1. Personal integrity (see Frank Dawtry).

2. National integrity (see J. D. A. Boyd). With Mr. Boyd, I see the moral use of the machine as the major social problem today: it is here now and it will remain. I believe that even under the totalitarian conditions which will continue to exist after the war, even in this country, one of the most important jobs of the constructive pacifist is in industry.

3. International integrity (see Donald Port). This cannot be achieved until the false idea of national sovereignty and the fallacious picture of personified nationality have both been broken down.

I feel that it is the duty of each and all to find out in what way he can best add something constructive to the sum total of creative effort.

RONALD G. PERRY

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Frank Dawtry's article on Integrity and the quotation from Olive Schreiner (PN, May 28) both raise a question which merits our careful consideration. To what extent is it profitable to oppose the evil in the world around us?

We all tend to attack those imperfections in other people which we hate, fear, and try not to admit in ourselves. This is the "projection" of Freudian psychology. We project our own faults on to others to bolster up our self-esteem. As a teacher, I have often seen

# A Catechism on the War

## By the Rev. E. L. ALLEN

**T**HERE are certain questions which in time of war force themselves upon us and insistently demand to be answered. One of these is: How shall we think of God?

To some, this is an easy question to answer. God is a combatant on one's own side. But there are many even among those who support the war, for whom it is impossible to think of God in this way, as though he had a commission in the British Army or had donned a black shirt on the other side.

When God takes up a quarrel, we may be sure that he will employ more discriminating weapons than the bomber.

But if God is not to be thought of as a combatant neither can we be content to think of him as neutral. For the neutral is one who stands outside the conflict and maintains an attitude of strict impartiality, because he is resolved not to endanger his own safety. And God does not play so dubious a part as that.

## GOD THE VICTIM

If, then, he is neither combatant nor neutral, where is he in all that is going on? I answer that he is the victim.

Sometimes we get the impression especially in a civil war, that all the moderate and far-seeing men are being killed off by both sides. I feel much the same today. Inasmuch as the belligerents are allies for the destruction of a common humanity and a common civilization, God suffers at the hands and by the weapons of both.

Yet this seems perhaps an inadequate thought of God. Must he not be the victor somehow?

in a class unreasonableness which really lay in myself; and I have sometimes punished them for it. This idea has found expression in the saying "Every pacifist is a militarist at heart." We might extend this and say "If a pacifist attacks the militarists while proclaiming that he himself is free from the faults he condemns, we may suspect that he is a militarist at heart and hates himself for it." If we attack evil to hide our own faults our attack will certainly be unprofitable.

This tendency to self-justification by the criticism of others is widespread and reveals a fundamental unhappiness in our life. When I am deeply happy I do not wish to criticize, but it is not easy to be happy. We call the things which frustrate our happiness evils, and we attack them. It may be that it is better to seek that integrity which will bring us happiness in spite of the evils we deplore.

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## Peace—and the Policeman

Much that has been written on this subject mistakenly assumes an analogy between the individual and the nation and that the domestic police force could have a parallel in some imaginary international police force, operating to enforce law and order as between nations which have grouped themselves together into a larger organization. The nation is, of course, the sum of its members, a very different thing from a large-scale reproduction of an individual, and no such analogy is apparent.

It is generally acknowledged that the League of Nations achieved a fair degree of success in its least spectacular work, which dealt with problems accepted as having no boundaries. The tackling of larger world problems, whose solution is now hampered by national barriers, could be attempted with some hope of success only by a world organization composed of individuals—necessarily grouping and regrouping themselves for practical purposes, but ordinarily without reference to existing boundaries—having a governing body elected by its members and responsible to them. Its creation would not presuppose the redundancy of the domestic policeman, who is surely not regarded at any rate in this country in peace time—as "a symbol of centralized control" in a political sense, as Donald Port suggests (PN, May 28).

The formation of such an organization would be extraordinarily difficult under present conditions, although the discredit which national governments have brought upon themselves by their inability to keep their peoples out of war might hasten the process. Nationalism, as distinct from cultural tradition, is an artificial product, whose death throes we may now be witnessing. At least an organisation on these lines would carry a greater assurance of successful operation in the interests of the ordinary man of all nations than an international grouping of States as such—with or without the sanction of force—which would not even be a step in the right direction.

PAMELA COATES

London, N.W.3.

Rowland A. Bird, the secretary of the Colwyn Bay PPU Group, who was given non-combatant service by the local tribunal when he asked for unconditional registration, appealed to the N. Wales appellate tribunal on May 25, which, however, confirmed that decision. He is reported to have had "a gruelling time" on both occasions.

I answer: Yes, that he will be the victor in the end I do not doubt, but only as he has first persuaded men to see in him their victim. As long as they can hope to enlist him on their own side, so long will they wage wars and sanction them with his name: when once they have seen that all weapons are directed against him and that the Father is wounded wherever any of his children are stricken, they will cease from mutual slaughter.

## LOST—OR WON?

A second question is: How shall we think of our own nation? Here it is essential that we should learn to measure success and failure by spiritual quality and not by any outward events.

If we suffer defeat, for example, because we have been unwilling to forego our private pleasures and our private gains because we had no common purpose and no ideals beyond the immediate exigency, then we shall have good cause to be ashamed. But if we are defeated because we could not make ourselves equal to another nation in the art of mass-slaughter, because we had scruples about small peoples who lay in our path, and because we had not the capacity of falsehood and intrigue which modern war requires, what will there be in all that with which we need reproach ourselves?

Better that we should lose the war than that we should lose our own soul.

Denmark spent what she had of her revenue on schools, on public health, and on provision for the aged: Nazi Germany spent her income on submarines, bombers and tanks.

When, therefore the two clashed, it was only a few hours before Denmark was at the mercy of Germany.

But can we doubt that for all that, at the judgment-seat of history it will be infinitely more tolerable to have been Denmark than to have been Germany?

## WHAT OF THE ENEMY?

A third question is: How shall we think of our enemies? That may be put more explicitly: Is forgiveness of our enemies possible? Personally, I doubt whether either those who say it is or those who say it is not have really understood what forgiveness implies.

Thus, it is beside the point to ask whether we are to condone the crimes which have been perpetrated in the occupied territories, the intrigue and lying which have everywhere prepared the way for Germany's advance, and the horrors of the concentration camps. For to forgive is neither to condone nor to pretend that such things have not taken place.

Again it is beside the point to argue that Germany under Hitler has been as much sinned against as sinning, that we too have our faults, that even the occupied countries may not be entirely innocent, and so on. For forgiveness is not of peccadilloes or political misjudgments, but of sins, crimes which cry out to God and man. He who forgives them knows them for what they are, but yet he forgives.

## WHAT FORGIVENESS MEANS

We pray that God will forgive us as we forgive our enemies. But how does God forgive? He says to a man:

"You have done what you know in conscience to be wrong, and you have suffered for it. You have set your fellow-men against you; henceforth you cannot expect to be trusted: as you have sown the wind, so you must reap the whirlwind, and I shall not interfere."

"From the consequences of your acts there is no escape, for what you have done only a complete change on your part can ever make reparation. But that such a reparation and such a change may be possible, here I offer you my friendship, to help you to live down the past and to create a better future."

Is it beyond our power to speak like that to Germany?

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

\* PPU HEADQUARTERS, \*

Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## FOOD—RELIEF POLICY

**B**Y this time all groups know of the important opportunity for appealing to a new and wider public on the food-relief question wherever it is possible to arrange foyer displays at local cinemas when the documentary film "Greek Testament" is being shown. Pictorial posters, the special leaflet and other details will be sent to any group which cares to apply.

Other tactics will also be needed during the summer months to keep the question before the public. The importance of sustaining interest until the real crisis develops with the approach of winter cannot be exaggerated. The movement's grave shortage of open-air speakers is a real difficulty here and—for the sake of all the campaigns—each group should take on some responsibility for remedying the deficiency.

## NEW POSTERS

The Food-Relief Campaign has other ideas, too, for the summer. A special set of eight posters is being published before the end of this month. Each poster bears a single quotation from an important authority—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Belgian Prime Minister, etc. The set of eight posters when arranged in order presents a brief and challenging case for immediate relief. The set will cost only 2s. 6d. post free. Can you manage a short poster parade of eight people once each week for half an hour before your group meeting, or during a week-end?

There will also be a short leaflet, "What They Say," on which all the quotations are printed and which can be given away by a distributor accompanying the parade.

## MANY ACTIVITIES

The work of the Campaign is manifold. Information has to be sought by study, interview, and research. Contact has to be maintained with local committees, individual campaigners, speakers. Suggestions and directions are formulated, literature is published. The one objective of all these efforts is to change the policy that withholds the navicerts.

If we were to ask you for money to buy food to send to the hungry children you would certainly respond. But it is not as easy as that. We have to ask you first to find time to work in the Campaign, and also to raise the funds which make it possible for our work at the centre to go on. The Campaign makes no claim on general funds, and it has made no appeal for funds since it came into existence in 1941. So far expenses have been covered and some money is held in reserve to contribute to actual relief when and where possible. The working balance is now very slender. For the first time we ask publicly that those who have helped us before should help us again—for the need is still there and our work still to do. If you have not helped before perhaps you can send something now? Send to the address at the head of this column.

## ROY WALKER

a pamphlet for study

## PACIFIST TECHNIQUES

by Charles F. Tifford

with an introduction

by Alex Wood

Price 6d. (post free 7d.)

The P.P.U. BOOKSHOP,  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street,  
London, W.C.1.

## ARMISTICE CAMPAIGN

AT the first meeting of the PPU's Armistice Campaign Committee, last week, Sybil Morrison was appointed Chairman for the time being and plans were made for future activity.

Meanwhile, Groups of the PPU are urged to make arrangements (in co-operation with other Groups, if necessary) for meetings of various kinds: public meetings (including open-air meetings); meetings in co-operation with other organizations (or to offer speakers for those organizations' own meetings); or meetings of members (which any member of the Campaign Committee is willing to visit to explain the campaign, answer questions, and discuss the whole matter).

Applications for speakers should be addressed (until the appointment of an organiser) to the Acting Chairman of the Campaign at PPU Headquarters; orders for available literature (more is in course of preparation) to the PPU Literature Dept.

Sybil Morrison will write the front-page article in next week's special 6-page issue of Peace News, orders for which (and for a special poster) must be received at 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, by first post Tuesday (Jun. 22).

### REAL BROTHERHOOD

A week before the Lancaster meeting of James Hudson and the Duke of Bedford (to be held in Friends Hall at 7 p.m. tomorrow, Sat.), 80 tickets at 1s. had been sold and the organizers were looking forward to a full meeting. A Morecambe correspondent adds:

"Lancaster Brotherhood, very largely war-supporting and non-pacifist, have generously and most tolerantly handed over the complete organization and ordering of their meeting, at Lancaster Centenary Church, at 3 p.m. on Sunday (the day after the public meeting) to the local PPU, and the Duke of Bedford will speak to the Brotherhood.

"Our President, Arthur Knowles, will preside, and Tom Rhodes (who recently served three months—imposed by the JP President of the Brotherhood—for refusing to register for fire-watching) will read the lesson: Luke 6, 27-38."

## Starvation In Greece

IN "Starvation in Europe" Dr. Geoffrey Bourne presents an objective picture of the food situation in Occupied Europe which is none the less horrific because of its scientific detachment. The section on Greece states the causes of the famine there:

"Greece has never been self-sufficient in food. Normally she imported 350,000 tons of wheat a year. In addition the Italian attacks in 1940 and the German invasion in the spring of 1941 prevented the completion of the season's sowings of wheat, etc. In any case, Greece has not, during the war, been able to obtain more than two weeks' reserve of food. Most of her food was imported by ships under British convoy."

The Germans "now seem not to be taking wheat" and have made a recent agreement "that they will not export foods unless they import other foods of equal calorific value."

Refugees from Greece describe the "average meal" as consisting of "camomile tea for breakfast, stewed carrots or turnips for luncheon, and some sort of vegetable dish for supper. Foods such as flour or butter appear to be unobtainable."

Despite the relief work, Dr. Bourne estimates "that over the whole of Greece about nine hundred people die daily, by far the greater number of them from starvation." Even the death and disease figures do not tell the whole story:

"Not only morale but morals have of necessity also begun to fail too. Many young mothers, and young girls just reaching maturity are said to have been forced to take up prostitution in order to buy food for their young children or their aged parents."

Dr. Bourne tells how Greece has obtained regular shipments of 15,000 tons a month, and adds:

"This of course eases the situation but does not solve the problem, since even before the war the Greeks needed to import about 33,000 tons a month."

### FOOD RELIEF

#### BERNARD TAYLOR

will speak on this subject at a Meeting of the

#### WATFORD (P.P.U.) GROUP

to be held at 7.45 p.m. on Wed., 23rd June,

at the

#### FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE

Derby Road, Watford, Herts.

## C.O.s in C.D.

### Central Board's Success

AS a result of action by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, Edmonton Town Council is reported to "have now dropped the whole question of undertakings," which, in March, it had required the 17 COs in its Civil Defence Services to give regarding their duties.

They had been required to sign an undertaking that they would carry out

"all and any duties which might be required of them in the Civil Defence Service, including the conveyance of military sick and of military and Home Guard casualties in Civil Defence vehicles from Army Units to military hospitals, the clearance of roads for military traffic and transmission of messages which might have military importance, being work of a civil character under civil control."

Nearly all refused to sign, and the Central Board for C.O.s decided that the time had come to take up with the Ministry of Home Security the whole question of the duties of COs in Civil Defence. Now a letter from the Ministry to Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Central Board, states "that all CD workers must carry out their primary duties of Civil Defence work without question, the nature of the work being irrelevant."

So far as industrial or quasi-industrial work which could be required of Civil Defence workers under the Defence Regulations was concerned, it was the policy of the Ministry that regard should be had to the conscientious scruples of COs as regards the performance of any particular task.

Again, within the scope of such additional work, some duties might be of a military rather than a civil character, and it was not the policy of the Ministry that COs should be required to carry out their duties if they found them repugnant to their conscience. Certain of the duties which gave rise to the Edmonton difficulty might come within the last category, though it was impossible to generalize.

This statement of the Ministry largely meets existing difficulties and was welcomed by the fifty members of the Central Board and observers present at its meeting on June 5.

The Board is going further into the matter with the Ministry.

### FIFTH PROSECUTION

Appearing for George P. Elphick, at Lewes on Jun. 8, when he was charged with failing to do fire-watching duties, Denis Hayes stated that the prosecution had been undertaken against the advice of the Regional Commissioner and that the case was the only one in the country where a CO had been prosecuted five times for a fire-watching offence. The case had been raised in the House of Lords.

George Elphick (who had already been to prison three times for refusing to pay the fines imposed) was sent to prison for two months without the option of a fine.

The CBCO is maintaining its pressure upon the Ministry of Home Security for a conscience clause to be inserted in the forthcoming Fire-watching Order.

Councillor Charles Albert Earl, of 3 Molyneux Rd., Farncombe, a member of Godalming Town Council, went to prison recently for a second period of two months rather than pay a fine for refusing to register for fire-watching.

### TRIBUNAL DECISIONS

C. W. Hope-Gill, of Alton, Hants, was registered unconditionally by the second division of the London Appellate Tribunal on Jun. 1. He was represented by John Barclay, who referred to William Hope-Gill's local tribunal on Mar. 13, when Judge Maurice Drucquer was alleged to have stated, "I am granting no unconditional exemptions."

When Joe Brayshaw, CBCO Public Relations Officer, took up the matter with Judge Drucquer he was informed that the latter's observations were expressing his own personal view and had reference solely to Mr. Hope-Gill's case. No unconditional exemptions at all were given by the Southern Local Tribunal out of the 574 cases heard between Jan. 4, 1942, and Mar. 31, 1943.

Frank Cox, Peace News distributor for the Ewell and Stoneleigh PPU Group, was sentenced to three months' hard labour at Epsom, on May 24, for not fulfilling the conditions of his exemption. Both he and Michael Segal, who received a similar sentence from Judge Tudor Rees, had already served one month in Wormwood Scrubs.

Albert Edward Knight, a window-cleaner, of Avenue Rd., Southall, was sentenced to three months' hard labour at Ealing Police Court on Jun. 3 for failing to comply with a direction to take up employment as a lorry driver and agricultural worker with the Norfolk War Agricultural Emergency Committee, at Norwich.

**CHARGES:** 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

**CASH** must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

**LATEST TIME** for copy to be received: **MONDAY.** Please type copy separately from your letter.

### ACCOMMODATION

**FOR ALL properties** to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

**HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION** required one week Sep., nr. coast between Bude and Padstow, Pacifist couple. Box 937 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**LADY** requires accommodation for two weeks in middle of Aug. North or Central Wales coast. Box 935 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**PACIFIST** (49), ex-Great War C.O. in poor health (no nursing), needing long rest, shortly wants comfortable bed-sitting room or apartments with board. Must be quiet and homely; moderate terms; N. Wales, Pembroke-shire; or Devon and Cornish coasts preferred. Box 934 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**PRESTWICH, LARGES.** Clean little rooms, very simply furnished; two comfortable single beds in each; cooking facilities (anyone in need of a rest); caretaker in attendance; former, July 3-10, Aug. 14-28, Sep.; latter, Jun. 14-30, 21-30, Sep. Katharine MacDonald, M.S.F., humanitarian, naturopath, ex-Labour College tutor. Assistant, Robert Bridges, M.A., ex-school teacher, conscientious objector (now in jail). 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow.

**WANTED** by two business ladies, two large rooms, unfurnished, and kitchenette, Ilford district. Box 927 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**YOUNG MARRIED** couple desire quiet, comfortable accommodation in country with simple attendance for first week Aug. Box 933 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### EDUCATIONAL

**FIND RECREATION** and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s. classes in 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 82 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

## HAVE YOU MONEY TO INVEST?

### GOOSE GREEN FARM LTD.

(A PACIFIST UNDERTAKING)

needs £1,000 Share or Loan Capital for Urgent Development.

### A CONSTRUCTIVE ENTERPRISE GOOD SECURITY

For Particulars apply to the Secretary: Vincent C. Burston, 6, King Square, Bridgwater, Somerset.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### FOR SALE & WANTED

**ACCORDIONS** bought, sold and part exchanged. Good selection, satisfaction guaranteed. 43 Perth Rd., Leyton, E.10.

**FOOTBALL, HANDBALL, CRICKET** Equipment wanted, Congregational Youth Club in its infancy, purchase if necessary. Plumbridge, 3 Pera Place, Bath.

**LAMB BRAND RIBBONS.** Cleanest, clearest, longest; 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name typewriters, colours. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

**LEICA Accessories** (including Long Focus Lens) wanted for own use. Full size oak B. and W. Billiard Table for sale, recovered No. 1 W/E cloth. Money Hicks, 4 Edge Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.19. (Wimbledon 5747 or, daytime, Macaulay 4581).

**PAINTINGS and Etchings** by John, Steer, Gill, Sutherland, Sickert, Walker, Brangwyn, etc., from one guinea. Details from Box 932 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL** would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

**LAD WANTED** small dairy-farm Devon, live in, keen on farming. Good opportunity for beginner; full wage after short trial period; nice home, healthy locality. Box 931 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**PARTNERSHIP** communal basis market gardening, suggestions invited, Midland counties; furnish large house, mutual, benefit, pacifist. Box 936 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE, &c.

**PRELUDES.** 32-page wartime anthology, presenting 10 new poets 1s. 1d. post free. Opus Press, Wood House, Cholesbury Rd., Wigginton, Tring, Herts.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**ANDREW STEWART** at Labour Club, 57 Church Rd., Richmond, Jun. 20, 3 p.m., "The Real Meaning of Peace." Kingston Region PPU. Discussion, followed by tea—bring your own food.

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS.** ex-prisoner C.O.s breakfast. Sun. Jun. 27, 9 o'clock. 40 Princes Gdns, Exhibition Rd., S. Kensington.

**JAMES HUDSON** and Duke of Bedford, Friends Hall, Lancaster, 7 p.m., Sat., Jun. 19. Few seats at 1s. Tom Rhodes, 55 Parkfield Drive.

**LIVERPOOL.** "Peace News—in spite of War." John Cowling will speak at Hope St. Church Library on Sat., Jun. 26, at 7.30 p.m. All interested in P.N. invited.

### PERSONAL

**JOHN A. HORTON** 5539, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, W.12. Birthday Jun. 24; no limit to birthday cards allowed.

**JOIN Victory Correspondence Club.** 24 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11. for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

## NEGOTIATION NOW PLEA

### Women and India

SOME seventy prominent women (including a few pacifists) have signed an appeal to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, in which they believe they are "expressing the desire of many people in this country, in India, and other parts of the world, in wanting to see the deadlock between Great Britain and India ended now."

Aware of "the complexities of the problem" and of "the many efforts that have been made on both sides to end the impasse," they "cannot believe that these difficulties are beyond the reach of human remedy. In all great struggles the method of consultation and negotiation finally has to take the place of strife. We want to see this method employed without further delay."

"We therefore urge His Majesty's Government not to allow the present position to continue. As a first step towards ending the deadlock we ask that facilities be granted to the Moderate Indian leaders for the consultation they desire with interned leaders."

\* \* \* \*

The Indian Freedom Campaign suggests that open-air meetings should be held regularly where pitches are available, local PPU Groups trying to find a few of their own members willing to give introductory speeches. A few Indian speakers are available for the London Area and the Home Counties.

The IFC leaflet "Why India Now?" which is available for door-to-door distribution and for handing out at open-air meetings, gives the reasons why India is important now to the average man and woman. Supplies are available at 1s. 6d. per 100 from 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

**DISPLAYED Advertisements.** MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. **LATEST TIME** for copy first post Friday.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

**CHRISTIAN PACIFIST** Land Units have vacancies for employment under County War Agricultural Executives or farmers and in afforestation. Christian pacifists with or without land experience write Secretary, Room 16 (PN), Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

**DETERMINED C.O.** calling again! Disposal of business seems unlikely, so would any capable Radio Service Engineer consider assisting during my "captivity" on basis of high salary with share of profits and equitable "after the war" association? Business is excellent and well worth every effort to retain; capable manager (fully responsible) is in charge and able to cope with all, but radio service, without which, prospects vague; 4 sets serviced per week would suffice. Please reply to Hoddesdon address, F. S. Taieb, 57 High St., Hoddesdon, and 4 Honey Lane, Hertford. Tel. Hoddesdon 3102.

**P.S.U. MANCHESTER,** wardens needed urgently. Married couple, single man, or two women considered. Basis, communal and pocket money. Apply Secretary, 86 Rusholme Rd., Manchester 13.

**WANTED, MAN, STRONG,** willing to do anything on mixed farm; live with family; C.O. not objected to. F. H. Goodland, Stathern Lodge, Stathern, Melton Mowbray.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

**CERTIFIED RADIOSERVICEMAN** (Brit. I.R.E.), C.O., requires post, preferably Cheshire. House or flat must be available. Box 913 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**TECHNICAL CLERK** (Engineering) 22, medically exempt, pacifist minded, seeks work. Literary ability; adaptable; temporary land work considered; anywhere. Box 930 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**UNCONDITIONAL C.O.,** general farm, market garden, secretarial, chairmanship experience, milker, tractor, car driver, seeks suitable work Eastern or Home Counties; married; particularly interested in stock; good refs. Box 929 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**UNCONDITIONAL C.O.,** 25, seeks interesting work; small wage accepted if work progressive. Shop, horticulture, or market gardening suitable. Box 928 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**YOUNG MAN, C.O.,** 3 years architectural training, seeks reconstruction or humanitarian work. Box 938 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### WHERE TO STAY

**DERBYSHIRE HILLS.** Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

**WYE VALLEY.** Guest house in own parkland of 150 acres. Homely atmosphere. Vegetarians and others catered for. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

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